THE WORKERS'

DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

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THE POLICE SLAVERY BILL.

The Government Police Bill makes it illegal for members of the Police Force to belong to a Trade Union, or to any association having as part of its objects, "to control or influence the pay, pensions or conditions of service of any police force." Any member of the force who disobeys this order is disqualified from being employed in any police force and loses all pension rights.

"Where a man was a member of a Trade Union before becoming a constable" (perhaps he was a member of the M.F.G.B., the A.S.E., or some other organisation) "he may, with the consent of the chief officer of police, continue to be a member of that Union."

But if any question arises as to whether this section applies to any particular union, then "the question shall be determined by the Secretary of State."

Evidently the Government is anxious that no loop-hole is to be closed which could enable it to remove the police from contact with the Trade-Union world.

Anyone inside or outside the force who does anything to cause "disaffection" in the force, or to induce any of its members to breaches of discipline, is liable to two years' imprisonment with hard labour; if a member of the force, the offender will also be dismissed from the force for ever, and will forfeit pension rights.

A determined attack is therefore made by this Bill upon the policeman's right to belong to a Trade Union and to agitate for better pay and conditions.

And what is the sop given by the Bill to camouflage this attack? A police federation is to be established which will have purely advisory powers and in which it is carefully arranged that the representation of the higher ranks in the force shall be very much in excess of their numerical proportion.

All policemen below the rank of superintendent "shall be members of the federation which shall act through Branch Boards, Central Conferences and Central Committees."

The Central Conferences and Central Committees are elected by the Branch Boards. In each police force there shall be three Branch Boards—one for constables, one for sergeants, one for inspectors.

"Where the number of any rank in any police force does not exceed seven, all members of that rank shall form the Branch Board, consisting of five, or, if the authorised strength of the force exceeds two hundred, seven members."

Thus, where there are only seven men in a rank, they get seven representatives; where there are 200, they get five representatives. Why is this? Obviously because the highest ranks are the smallest, and the proletarians of the police are most numerous!

In any police force "containing more than three divisions, a Branch Board shall consist of one member for each division, elected by the members of the force of the rank in question. Members of the force vote for the representatives of their own rank.

Branch Boards may hold each year four meetings, each lasting one day. If they want to hold additional meetings they can only do so with the consent of the Chief Officer of Police. The Central Conference may meet annually for two days, the Central Committee may meet one day in two months, again additional meetings may only be held with the consent of the Chief Officer of Police. If the men desire to meet to discuss critical, emergency matters when immediate action is indispensable, they will find that consent has been withheld and they can only meet by breaking the law.

The Branch Boards, Central Conferences and Central Committees "may regulate their own procedure . . . provided that the first meeting of the several Boards, Conferences and Committees shall be convened in such manner and the procedure to be followed thereat shall be such as the Secretary of State may adopt." Are permanent, never-to-be-changed rules to be laid down at those first meetings?

The Secretary of State is to make the regulations for the government of the police, their pay, allowances, pensions, clothing, expenses and conditions of service.

He is to submit a draft of the proposed regulations to a Council consisting of the representatives of the Police Federation's Central Committee and of the chief officers of the police and police authorities selected for the purpose by the Secretary of State. The Secretary of State will be able, of course, to choose men of his own way of thinking. Moreover, the Council is purely advisory; the Secretary of State need only "consider" its representations.

The British Government is dealing with the organisation of the police as the ex-Czar of Russia dealt with the Russians? The Russian people demanded freedom: after long strife the Czar said: "I will grant you a Duma." When the Duma proved too independent for the Czar, he dissolved it, and decreed new rules for the Duma and a more restricted franchise. The police demanded recognition for their's. After long strife, the Government granted a Representative Board. The representative Board proved too independent. The Government substituted a Police Federation.

The Czar's second Duma also proved too independent: he continued his dissolution policy. What will follow the Police Federation, if it should prove too independent?

The police ought not to accept this Bill, and organised Labour ought to support them in this refusal.

You look as charming as ever, Dora!

RUSSIAN BABIES' FUND.

WILL IT BE USED FOR COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY ENDS?

A number of sincere people, including Dr. Rickman, whom first-hand experience has made a convinced supporter of the Soviets, has addressed a letter to the Press appealing for money to buy milk, clothing, medicines, soap and disinfectants for Russian babies.

But how are these useful, necessary commodities to reach the Russian babies? Any lack suffered by them is due to the Allied blockade which prevents imports into Soviet Russia, and to the Allied military intervention and support of the counter-revolutionaries, who could not continue their struggle without Allied aid. The Allied Governments are causing whatever suffering there is amongst the Russian babies and are making the children suffer with their parents in order to force their parents into submission to Koltchak. How then are the organisers of the fund to reach the Russian babies? Dr. Rickman and his colleagues, in their letter to the Press, say:—

> "The Government grant of one pound to meet every pound given privately will be available, it is stated, for such districts of Russia as the Supreme Council may decide.
>
> "It is officially announced that Mr. Hoover and Sir William Goode urge that efforts should be concentrated on helping the children of Eastern and South Europe."

The Allied Governments will subscribe to this fund, which would be quite unnecessary, if they would but let Russia alone; but the money the Allied Governments subscribe may only be used in certain districts, and we believe, if they can, and their power is great, they will force the fund committee to confine its operations to those districts.

What districts will the Allies choose to allow the relief to go to? Obviously not to Soviet Russia, which they are blockading: obviously to the parts of Russia where counter-revolutionaries like Koltchak and Denikin hold precarious sway over an unwilling population. Probably it is hoped that the stories, which will lose nothing in the telling, of the great assistance sent from England to non-Soviet Russia may bribe Soviet districts to relinquish the struggle against the counter-revolution.

We know that those who are organising this fund are doing so with the best possible intention, but whilst the money they will be able to raise will be as nothing amongst the vast populations to be dealt with, the political effect may be helpful to the counter-revolutionaries.

To help the counter-revolutionaries is to prolong the starvation of Russian children. To provide any excuse for the intervention of the Allied Economic Council or any other organ of Capitalist Governments in Russia is highly dangerous. We urge the promoters of this fund to reconsider their project.

HUMBUG OR FAILURE: WHICH?

There are many honest people in the working-class movement who possess a child-like faith in the parliamentary Labour Party; they really believe that it is a party of doughty working-class champions fighting manfully for Socialism. Alas for their bland and blind innocence!

The "victory" parliament has passed its first session. It has sat during a period of revolutionary crisis, a period when working-class questions have towered and overtopped all other considerations; a time during which events have put an acid test to the genuineness of any party claiming to speak in the name of Labour. And how has the great Labour Party stood the test? What is the part its M.Ps have played in the open struggle that has developed between forces of capitalism and the forerunners of the coming international Socialist Revolution?

The answer should make all revolutionaries, who despise the sordid political chiefs of the Labour Party, hang their heads for shame. For shame of the rank and file who stand by content with the pitiful exhibition of opposition given by official Labour to the decisions of His Majesty's capitalist government. For shame that the very very few Labour M.Ps, who pretend to parade independence, have kept silence whilst the fetters of military conscription have been rivetted more firmly on the working-class; whilst Cabinet Ministers have applauded bloodthirsty tyrants like Koltchak and boasted of the arms, men and munitions they have sent to crush our revolutionary comrades in Russia.

On the positive side we have had the suave and decorous sentiments of leaders (?) like Adamson, who have led the opposition according to the standards and customs of the House, and who in fact have been less an 'opposition' than Sir Donald McLean and his rump of independent Liberals. Whether we take the speeches of the "opposition" on the occasion of the "address from the throne" or on the question of military conscription, there was more 'ginger' in the speeches of Sir Donald and his ilk than in those of the precious Labour Party. And this is saying a lot!

Then take the speeches of the great labourist Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P. Here is a man who has never missed a chance to put in a lick—for the capitalist class. As wily as a serpent, he mouths the platitudes of democracy whilst in every action he betrays the workingclass and sells them deeper into slavery. He is a 'sane' Labour Leader; a patriot,—the applause of the kept press is sufficient to show all honest workers where Thomas stands. Is it an occassion when the restive rank and file of the N.U.R. threaten to kick over the traces and use their organisation for the purpose it was built up for? then down comes Thomas employing both wiles and threats and breaks the strikes. The capitalist Press cheers, the railway owners chuckle, the government is delighted! The old-fashioned blackleg is quite a back-number now at strike breaking—our modern Labour M.Ps of the Thomas type have taken his place, and the organised workers, while paying him to sell them, sometimes applaud him, and sometimes, like the Newport and Cardiff railwaymen, unmask him and curse him. Again is it an occasion like the other day in Parliament when the reactionaries, led by that despicable character Clem Edwards, launched a vile attack on the struggling workers of Russia? then our worthy Labourists led by Thomas fall over each other in order to disown the Bolsheviki, and to join in the popular pastime of blackguarding them. On that occasion we learned that Mr. Thomas 'has full confidence in Mr. Lloyd George' and is prepared to endorse whatever the 'Big Four' puppets of international finance decide to do. Again, like more of his ilk, Thomas is very anxious to prevent the downing of tools to prevent the strangulation of Russian Socialism by the intervention of the Allied Armies. 'No unconstitutional action' is his cry! Better hundreds of thousands of the international working-class should die than Thomas should be unconstitutional! Better a Paris Commune magnified a hundredfold than that our Labour Party should offend the pooh-bahs of capitalism!

And whilst Thomas and his crowd blather and bluster, revolutionists are pouring out their lifes' blood—are dying, while all our tame parliamentarians talk twaddle and treason. In every country where capitalism rules, thousands of brave fighters for working-class freedom rot in dungeons—England being no exception. In the parliaments in every country but England are to be found a few brave and honest fighters who are not ashamed of our splendid comrades of the Russian Communist movement. In France we have the Kienthalist Deputies like Pierre Brizon, in Italy we have a stalwart group of official Socialists, and so on. But in England? Bah! Read the following! It speaks for itself. It is an extract from one of the Harmsworth papers for April 17th, 1919—

An Interesting Luncheon Party.

"Those who carry the bitterness of party politics into their private lives would have been surprised and perhaps a little horrified had they peeped into a certain room within the precincts of the House half an hour after the Prime Minister had ceased speaking. They would have seen a sight that is probably peculiar to the British temperament, and that illustrates the fact so difficult for foreigners to understand that British Parliamentarians can fight hard and yet remain close friends.

Here lunching with the Prime Minister were Bonar Law, Sir Donald McLean, the liberal opposition leader, Mr. Adamson the opposition Labour leader, and Mr. Lambert, one of the most effective critics of the Government. Included in the party were also the Prince of Wales. Commend me every time to the true democracy and comradeship of British public men."

These are your gods, O Israel! this is the Labour Party idea of working class independence! and this is how the champions of the working class wage the class struggle!

There are mild mannered people who accuse us of bitterness and rancour towards official Labour. In the face of such apostacy, in the face of repeated betrayals of the working class, can anyone wonder at the "bitterness?" More dangerous than the official spokesmen of Capitalism itself are the Labour Lieutenants who mislead the working class. Put not your trust in leaders or in any individual who professes ability to lead you to the "promised land." The task of emancipation, men and women of the working class, must be your own. You must strike the blow yourself!

To the rank and file of the B.S.P. and I.L.P. we appeal to you to consider clearly the nature of the Party you are supporting. In every country where the revolutionary struggle has developed, the enemies of the social revolution have been the sham Socialists,—the Kerenskis, the Scheidemanns, the Davids, etc. In Great Britain the enemies are likewise the tame Socialists, the Thomases, the Hendersons, the Adamsons, etc. Sooner or later we shall have to fight them openly at perhaps a terrible cost. Meanwhile, you professing Socialists of the I.L.P. and B.S.P. give these men your support and bolster up their pretence of Socialism. The time is ripe for the establishment of a Unified Revolutionary Communist Party. The question is,—Are the rank and file of the I.L.P. and B.S.P. for Revolutionary Socialism or for Reactionary Labourism.?

Comrades! which are you going to choose!

—A.E.C.

UKRAINIAN CAPITALISTS IN LONDON.

Another greedy Capitalist group has come to London to join in the struggle for the rich lands and the labour power of Russia. A Ukrainian Press Bureau has been started, obviously with ample funds, and has issued its first Press bulletin. In this bulletin it is announced that a special Ukrainian Diplomatic Delegation is in London. with a certain Dr. M. Stakhovsky at its head.

The Ukrainian Press Bureau is working on behalf of a group of Ukrainian Capitalists who wish to re-establish capitalism in the Ukraine, and, at the same time to separate the Ukraine from Russia. Quite naively they give their reasons:—

"The natural wealth of the Ukraine is simply fabulous. Her soil, by its richness and fertility, has no rivals in Europe. The Ukraine is veritably the granary of that continent. There are inexhaustible coal layers, plenty of iron, oil and so forth. Her rivers and sea coasts place her very favourably in respect of commerce. It is strange, but this very wealth of the country became the source of its misfortunes. Its neighbours have always cast greedy eyes on the richness of the country — Tartars, Turks, Poles, and lately, Russians.

In order to secure the power to exploit "this very wealth of the country," the Ukrainian Capitalists have formed a Directory, consisting of five members under the presidency of General Petlura, who is joining forces with the old reactionary General Grigorieff, who took service with the Red Army, but deserted to the counter-revolution, and tried to take with him the troops under his command. His revolt proved a failure, and both he and Petlura were heavily defeated by the Red Army, so that there remained to them only a few small bands.

Denikin's invasion of the Ukraine has, perhaps, helped Petlura as the people, in certain districts have perhaps been willing to help anyone who is fighting Denikin, but it is an amazing piece of effrontery for the five persons in the Ukrainian Directory to assert, as they do, that they are governing a Ukrainian Republic! These counter-revolutionary Capitalists leave no doubt of the fact that they are fighting against the Soviets. In December, 1917, their bulletin reports that France and England sent General Tallouis and M. Bagée as diplomatic representatives to the Ukrainian Republic, which came into being when the Soviets gave self-determination to the Ukraine. But whilst negotiating with France and Britain the Ukrainian reactionaries at Brest Litovsk, entered into engagements with the Germans. Now that Germany is beaten, the Ukrainian reactionaries wish to be allied with French and British capitalism: they have opened a Swiss-Ukrainian Chamber of Commerce in Geneva, to promote commercial relations with France, Belgium, Italy and Switzerland.

The members of the self-appointed Directory declare that they do not wish to fight with Denikin, but they will be forced to unless the Allies agree to recognise *them* as the Governors of the Ukraine, and in a letter to the Big Five in Paris that though they called themselves "democratic," they, like the Hetman Skoropadsky, whom they describe as reactionary, "independent of their politics and their programme, have maintained a desperate struggle against the Bolsheviks."

They ask the Big Five to recognise Ukrainia as an Independent State, and themselves "as the real supreme power," and they request "moral and national support in the struggle of the Ukrainian Republic against Bolshevism and anarchy."

Thus we find that the reactionaries of central Russia are fighting against the workers and calling the Allied Governments to help them to be masters of all the territory ruled over by the Czars. Meanwhile the capitalists of the separate border states: Azerbaijan, Esthonia, Georgia, Latvia, North Caucasia, while Russia and Ukrainia form also their own separate counter-revolutionary groups and call to the Allied Governments to assist them to crush the workers and to become the masters of these separate states.

Koltchak and the other little tyrants all prosecute their selfish battles under the pretence that they desire Democracy.

THE TRUTH ABOUT RUSSIA.

By M. PHILIPS PRICE.

Part II.

THE STRUGGLE WITH FOREIGN IMPERIALISTS.

The regeneration of Russia could only begin when once the Soviets had completed their development and come to the zenith of their political power. After October, 1917, it seemed that order through Soviets would prevail over the chaos bred in the first days of the March revolution. For the working classes, schooling themselves in their factory and village committees, were fighting famine and struggling to raise production. But the war was still nominally going on with the Prussian war lords. The country was open to any tyrant, who chose to walk in. The soldiers had nearly all gone from the front by Christmas, 1917. The Bolshevik leaders of the Soviets had now the most terrific task before them. They had to secure some sort of peace, in order to give the ruined and exhausted land a breathing space and the workers a chance to repair the damage of the war.

There will probably be nothing more tragic in history than the picture of Russia struggling with the German war lords and deserted by the Allies. Trotsky, possessing no material resources to enforce the justice of Russia's cause, relied upon the conscience and sense of justice of the Western world. This was the time when the Allies, if they had known the day of their visitation, if they had understood what was the driving force of the true Russia, would have declared their peace programme, and, sustaining Trotsky, would have exposed to the world the cynical intrigues of the Prussian militarists. The Allied Governments did not do this, because they could not. They dared not face their people and tell them that they had plans of conquest. The moment passed for uniting the moral front of the Allies with that of revolutionary Russia. It never came again.

Russia was thus left alone in the world to face the German War Lords. Two courses were open to her. She could either play the idealist and decline to accept any peace which did not embody its principles *in toto*; or she could pursue Real-Politik, and, estimating all the forces which were making for the internal break up of her enemies, she could make an agreement with them as a temporary expedient. In the days preceding the signing of the Brest-Litovsk peace two very fundamental human impulses were struggling together inside the Russian Revolution. The one was altruistic, ready for self sacrifice, Brunnhilde-like upon the flaming pyre of an idea; the other was wise and calculating, prepared to save what could be saved now in order to gain more surely in the end. The struggle between these two impulses, old as the human race itself, was reflected in the controversy between those among the Russian revolutionaries who would sign the Brest-Litovsk peace, and those who would not. The Left Socialist - Revolutionaries and the Anarchists, like artists, lived only for their ideals, which they desired to realise at once or else to perish. The greater part of the Bolsheviks and the hungry masses, following Lenin, lived not only for their ideals, but for the means to realise them. The Left Social Revolutionaries and Anarchists, rather than sign the Brest-Litovsk peace, renounced all claim to participation in the Government, and resorted to acts of individual terrorism in the hope of striking fear into the breasts of the tyrants. Lenin's followers recoiled, *pour mieux sauter*, fostered their forces till the day should come when they knew they would be able to strike.

The Prussian War Lords, not because they wanted to, but because they had to, gave a breathing space to the Russian Revolution: they were engaged in playing their last card in a terrific onslaught on France. Revolutionary Russia is accused of being responsible for this onslaught, but I submit that her tactics did more than anything else to break the power of Prussian militarism. The very fact that the politically non - conscious elements of the German people got a taste of peace on the East front, broke their will to war. "If we can have peace with Russia," their minds instinctively argued, "why can we not have it also with the Allies?" But month after month went by, and they began to see that the German Army must either conquer the world or else make a compromise peace. They knew they could not do the former, because of America: their own war lords would not let them do the latter. But the example of the peace with Russia was before them, and, seeing it, their spirit of rebellion against the war rose ever stronger. The Germans towns began to fill with deserters; workers struck, discipline collapsed, and, with it, the Army. And the Russian revolutionaries knew how to make use of this new psychology of the German people. The peace on the East Front was used to flood the Ukraine with Bolshevik agents, who spread revolutionary literature broadcast, and who, within a few months, had turned the Kaiser's glorious Eastern Army into little better than a hybrid between a rabble and a revolutionary committee. M. Joffe, while playing at diplomacy with the Ministers of the Kaiser, was distributing pamphlets right and left, calling upon the German proletariat to overthrow its tyrants. The fear and hatred in which the propertied classes of Germany hold Bolshevik Russia, can be seen by the fact that, at the moment of writing, Russian Bolsheviks are now pining in German prisons, are hunted like hares and murdered by the armed hooligans of the Ebert-Scheideman-Noske Government of "Socialist" Germany. I ask an unprejudiced observer: "Does this look as if the Bolsheviks are the agents of German Imperialism?"

THE ALLIED INTERVENTION.

The months that immediately followed the signing of the Brest-Litovsk peace were used by the Soviet Government of Russia for realising two objectives. The first was the building up of a Red Proletarian Army, which would be a menace to Prussian militarism in the East. The second was the reconstruction of the economic life of the country upon Socialist principles, which would be an example to the proletariat of Central Europe, and would break their loyalty to their own Imperialist war lords. If the Allied Governments, even at this period of the revolution, had chosen to examine the facts, they would have seen that, with clean hands, they had nothing to fear from working with Bolshevik Russia. But the hands of the Allies were not clean, London and Paris had become since the early months of 1918 a centre of all the royalist emigrants from Russia. Sinister forces on the Stock Exchanges dreamed of seeing in power the same servants of Tzarism to whom they had lent money in the past, and who were expected to remain their contented slaves in the future. Instead of responding to the invitation of Bolshevik Russia to send instructors to drill the Red Army and to reorganise the railways and open concessions in payment for the Tzar's war loans, the Allied Governments became responsible for one of the most disgraceful acts of modern history. In May, 1918, there was formed in most of the chief towns of Great Russia, under the directions of General Alexieff, a secret society of officers and members of the Bourgeoisie, the aim of which was to organise counter - revolutionary guards and overthrow the Soviet Republic at a given moment. Letters discovered by the Soviet authorities at this time prove that close relations existed between General Alexieff and the French Military Mission. The plot of the officers' secret society was discovered, but the majority of those implicated escaped, and, in June, took up their activities in the towns of East European Russia. Plans were then worked out by General Alexieff and the French Military Mission to seize the towns on the Volga, to cut off the food from Central Russia and to draw the country into the war again by establishing the East front on a line running from Archangel to the mouth of the Don. The Czecho - Slovak volunteer forces, which had been on the South-West front before the Brest-Litovsk peace, were taken under the protection of the French Military Mission. The Czecho-Slovak commanders asked for leave to go to the West European front, and the Soviet Government gave this permission. The Czecho-Slovak troops were therefore sent by slow stages across Russia to Vladivostok, where they were to embark for France. About the middle of June the Soviet authorities became aware of the fact that during the previous weeks the sum of eleven million roubles had been paid by the French Consul in Moscow to the Czecho-Slovak National Council, and eighty thousand pounds by the British Consul. Becoming suspicious of the objects for which this large sum of money was paid, the Soviet authorities asked for an explanation and meanwhile delayed the transport of the Czecho-Slovak troops. The latter, having been duly prepared by propaganda to believe that the Bolsheviks were laying a trap for them in order to hand them over to the Germans, lost their heads and seized the railway stations of those towns in East Russia where they happened to be at the moment. These towns were all on the line indicated on the plans laid by General Alexieff's officers' secret society and the French Military Mission. As soon as the frightened Czecho-Slovaks had made their impulsive coup, they found themselves surrounded by secret society guards led by Frenchmen, and were forced to follow them in the war, which the latter immediately declared against the Soviet Government of Russia. Thus the way to a reconciliation was blocked by the carefully-prepared plans of the counter-revolutionaries who made the Czecho-Slovaks their tools. The counter-Soviet revolt became an accomplished fact: Central Russia was cut off from the corn of the Ukraine by the Germans and was also deprived of its last corn stores on the Volga. The famine in that part of Russia, where the Soviet Government still existed, increased as a result of the Czecho-Slovak rebellion, and it was confidently hoped by the leaders of the counter-revolution that the masses would rise in revolt against the Bolsheviks. These people, however, forgot that, when the Russian masses would rise, it would be not against the Bolshevik Government, but against the foreign invaders.

But that was not all. The evidence given before the Revolutionary Tribunal of the Republic, in November, 1918, proved that in August of that year the French and British representatives in Moscow, M. Grenard and Mr. Lockart, received in their rooms an officer of the Lettish Soviet regiment, and paid him two million roubles for the purpose of securing the support of the Lettish soldiers for the overthrow of the Soviet Government. Further, a letter from M. René Marchand, Russian correspondent of the *Figaro* and a strong anti-Bolshevik, to President Poincaré, was discovered by the Soviet authorities. In this letter M. Marchand describes a meeting at the American Consulate, at which he and the French and British diplomatic representatives were present, and at which certain agents of the consulates discussed plans for blowing up bridges over the Volkhova River. The effect of this would have been to have reduced Petrograd to complete starvation. As an honest man M. Marchand protested to the French President against the behaviour of Allied officials in Russia. Some of the plans actually did mature and food trains destined for Petrograd and Moscow were blown up at Veronesch by these agents.

Now, in face of these facts, it is not to be wondered at that the Soviet authority replied to the "White Terror" of the Allied agents by the Red Terror. Up till May of 1918, the Soviet Government had only executed murderers or persons caught pillaging. The application of the death sentence for political offences was only re-introduced when a systematic terrorist campaign against the Soviet Government was

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ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

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THE COAL SITUATION.

The Government seems to have been engaged in manœuvring of a character familiar in Capitalist politics, to side track the question of nationalisation of the mines to which it is virtually pledged. The Government announced its intention to raise the selling price of coal by 6/- a ton, declaring that this increase would be unnecessary if the miners would increase their output. At the same time much croaking was indulged in as to the disastrous effect on all industry and on working - class households which the 6/- increase would entail.

The Labour Members of Parliament, ever fearful of incurring unpopularity, fell into the trap that had been laid for them. Mr. Brace and Mr. Adamson offered to try to induce the miners' conference to accept a bargain under which the miners would pledge themselves to refrain from all stoppages of work for three months and to do all possible to increase the output, working at top pressure, as they did in war time, provided the Government would agree to withdraw the 6/- increase. At first Mr. Brace coupled with this proposal the demand that the Government should legislate on the lines of the Sankey Report, but Mr. Adamson dropped this nationalisation and only asked the postponement of the 6/- increase. Mr. Bonar Law said:—

> "If my hon. friend means that he cannot consider the offer I have made without an undertaking on the part of the Government that we shall go in for nationalisation, I say we shall not."

Mr. Adamson answered:—

> "Nationalisation is not in my mind at all. The causes we have put before you to-night are men being thrown idle, and collieries being kept idle."

Months ago the miners were prepared to strike for nationalisation. They refrained, on a promise that the Sankey Commission would investigate the question. The Commission reported in favour of nationalisation. And now, in face of the Government's virtual refusal to act on the Sankey recommendations, the Labour Members were prepared to pledge the miners not to strike for three months! The Labour Members, in so far as they could, had indeed offered something substantial for next to nothing. Nevertheless, the Press department of the Labour Party insisted that they had scored a great Parliamentary triumph and a "Labour victory" "achieved in true Parliamentary style" "by sheer strength of reasoning and argument and a brilliant use of analytical powers." How strange it is to find these Parliamentary puppets imagining they make the wheels go round!

The Miners' Conference at Keswick was too analytical to accept this story. It rejected the Government's offer, declaring that it would only co-operate to increase output on the basis of the Sankey proposals for nationalisation being carried out. Only Brace, M.P., Hartshorn, M.P., and Major Watts Morgan, M.P., voted to accept the Government's proposal. Yet when the ballot for the Executive came to be taken Hartshorn and Brace were chosen as two out of the three representatives of South Wales.

The conference passed a vote of censure on the South Wales surface men who are striking against the Sankey award, on the ground that it makes them work longer hours than the miners and that they, as members of the Federation, should have equal treatment. Robert Smillie argued that the federation by majority vote had accepted the Sankey award and that it is not possible for the workers to press the Government to stand by the Sankey award if they themselves depart from it. The Sankey proposals on Nationalisation, unsatisfactory as they are from the financial standpoint, and including the virtual abolition of the right to strike, were accepted by the conference without reservation, because Capitalism is not prepared to accept them. But if miners would but use their industrial power they could get something better.

Whilst the M.F.G.B. is at present resorting to negotiation and wire-pulling, the workers are always beaten, direct action again shows itself to be the force which tells. The Government, its offer rejected, raised the price of coal on Monday; the Yorkshire miners, for sectional grievances of their own, continued the stoppage is the Yorkshire coalfields, and the mines began to be flooded.

At Keswick it was the miners' turn to move: they should have returned to the pre-Sankey position: *Nationalise or we strike.* But they did not, though eventually they must come to that point, or drop their charter.

The Keswick conference ignored the twenty four hours' strike for the Soviet Republics.

The conference decided, however, to move at the Triple Alliance Conference on July 23rd a proposal asking the members of the constituent bodies to consider taking direct action on (1) Conscription; (2) Military Intervention in Russia; (3) release of conscientious objectors; (4) Military Intervention in trade disputes.

Another dilatory proposal, the blockade of the Central Empires, which used to figure in these demands, the Governments now say they have withdrawn without the intervention of the great Triple Alliance: the great starvation continued until the Governments saw fit to stop it! So that peg to hang their protest on having passed, the miners have added another closely - related demand. The Capitalist Governments go their way, whilst Labour *talks* of checking them, and the torture of suffering humanity is continued. And with all this timid hesitation, Labour is not spared the awful arbitrament of the strike, for strikes on some minor question or other are taking place somewhere every day.

Naval Blacklegging.

5,000 naval men have been sent to pump water out of the Yorkshire Coalmines. This say the papers, is not blacklegging, but, of course, it is blacklegging. It is blacklegging the pumpmen who are on strike, and the strikers as a whole. The need for the miners' new fourth point is therefore strikingly demonstrated! No Labour Member raised a protest when Lloyd George announced the fact in the House of Commons. The men in the pits will not, we think, take the matter so drowsily. Indeed, the coal-fields are in a ferment not seen for many a day.

THE TWENTY-FOUR HOURS' STRIKE.

In spite of the boycott by official Labour, the strike to save the Socialist Republics was held by several sections of workers. The London dockers were amongst those who showed their power and solidarity on July 21st. The Press is all but silent upon the strike, fearing that publicity will cause such action to spread. News of what actually happened will be more fully available by next week. We must now prepare for a bigger manifestation.

In France.

The general strike was called off by the French Labour leaders, because certain concessions were obtained from the Government, and because a defeat in the Chamber seemed to indicate that the Government itself would be obliged to resign in the immediate future. The Parliamentarians, with their faith in political wire-pulling, of course worked against the strike, but till we get direct news from the French Labour and Socialist comrades, we cannot judge of the size of the strike.

The events which caused the Paris Labour Leaders to call off the strike began with the defeat of the Government in a debate on the cost of living, on July 18th. M. Boret, Minister of Supplies, resigned the same evening. Next day the Executive of the General Confederation of Labour met Clemenceau, who is said to have made the following concessions:—

(1) An immediate amnesty of political and military prisoners, comprising 150,000 people. (2) A general demobilisation to be finished not later than the end of September; (3) New and vigorous measures to reduce the cost of living.

Clemenceau is further reported to have said that *Britain*, not France, maintains the anti-Soviet intervention, no munitions are sent from France to Russia, and only a few troops being there in Denikin's rear. Yet, on the occasion of signing Peace, Clemenceau exchanged congratulatory telegrams with Koltchak. Clemenceau is still an ardent interventionalist. It is the old-fashioned "social patriots" of the French Socialist Labour Movement who so easily swallowed Clemenceau's vague promises.

Italy.

The Press is trying to create the impression that no strike occurred in Italy, but when direct news comes through, it will be seen that, though concessions by the Government obviated a complete stoppage, many sections were dissatisfied. Nevertheless, Signor Nitti, the new Prime Minister, has pledged his Government not to attack the Soviet Republics. According to Reuter, he said: "Italy must not intervene in Russia and Hungary unless these countries attack us."

"We have decided to withdraw most of our contingents from abroad."

The concessions obtained by the Labour Parliamentarians of France and Italy, though we do not ourselves believe they can be trusted, seem to reflect most adversely upon the abilities of the British Labour Party, which has obtained nothing. The fact is that the French and Italians only obtained concessions through the menace of direct action by the workers outside. The British Labour movement has failed to get any concessions because the industrial weapon has not been used.

The situation in Italy is exceedingly hopeful, and perhaps its best feature is that, in some cases, the peasants, by direct action, have actually begun to socialise land. This means that a genuine spirit of popular revolution is developing. The Peasants' Congress at Bologna, representing 700,000 members, has declared for the immediate socialising of the land, not for division, but for social ownership and working.

Norway.

In Norway a general strike took place on July 21st. We hope to have first-hand news of it shortly.

In Vienna and Berlin it was also decided to organise solidarity strikes.

THE RED ARMY WINNING.

The Russian Soviet Army is making great progress. Denikin seems to be definitely retiring and he has lost several important centres including Ekaterinoslav on the Dnieper, and his troops appear about to be pushed right out of the province of Astrakan.

Koltchak's army is being driven steadily eastward across vast stretches of territory. The Red Army has taken the important town of Ekaterinburg, which is an arsenal and is the centre of the mining industry of the region, as well as an important railway junction. The Reds are advancing towards Tcheliabinsk, where the Trans-Siberian railway begins. All this means the improved supplies of food and raw material for Soviet Russia.

Meanwhile the stories that Bela Kun is "tolerated" and that Soviet Russia is to be evacuated by the Allies must be discounted. Churchill, who, as Secretary of State for War, speaks for the Government, the unity of the Cabinet remains one and indivisible, continues bitterly attacking the Soviets and declaring that they must be fought.

(Continued on Page 1412, col. 1.)

LENIN OR WILSON !

By Maxim Gorky.

The victors, who a short time ago, proclaimed to the whole world that they were destroying millions of men for the victory of justice and the happiness of all peoples, have now forced the German people to accept the terms of an armistice which is ten times harder than the Brest-Litovsk peace and which threatens the Germans with inescapable hunger. From day to day the cynicism of the inhuman policy of the imperialists becomes clearer and threatens more and more openly the peoples of Europe with new wars and fresh bloodshed.

President Wilson, who yesterday was the eloquent champion of the freedom of peoples and the rights of democracy, is equipping a powerful army for the "Restoration of Order," in Revolutionary Russia, where the people have already realized their lawful right to take the power into their own hands and are striving with all their might to lay the foundation for a new political order. I will not deny that this constructive work has been preceded by an often unnecessary destruction. But I, more than anyone else, am justified and in a position to explain, that the cultural metamorphosis which is going on under particularly difficult circumstances, and which calls for heroic exertions of strength, is now gradually taking on a form and a compass which has up to the present, been unknown in human history. This is not an exaggeration. But a short time ago an opponent of the Soviet Government and still in many respects not in agreement with it, I can yet say, that in the future the historian, when judging the work which the Russian workers have accomplished in one year, will be able to feel nothing but admiration for the immensity of the present cultural activity. . . .

Is it because of the slight transgressions of the Russian Revolution against humanity, is it because of the lack of high-mindedness on the part of the Russian workmen towards their conquered class enemies, that the Imperialists of Europe and America are taking the field against Revolutionary Russia? No, the case is not so beautiful or so idealistic as the papers of Europe, France, America and Japan represent it. The matter is much simpler. The Imperialists of the three continents fear the operation of the new influences which may hinder the fortifying of political conditions and institutions that can strengthen their power over the wills of the people; conditions, in consequence of which a small minority disposes of the wills and lives of the majority, that minority which evoked the senseless, bloody battles.

One would think that all sensible and honorable men must see clearly the hypocrisy and the stupidity of the foundations of the capitalist system. It seems as if this were the time to convince all honorable and thoughtful men that Capitalism has lost its constructive force and is a relic of the past, is a hindrance to the development of world culture, that it calls forth enmity between individuals, families, classes and nations and that the beautiful dream of the great brotherhood of nations cannot be accomplished as long as the irreconcilable struggle between labour and capital still survives. I do not deny the services of capital to the working portion of humanity, out of the flesh and blood of which it created the bases for a transition into a new, perfect and just order of society by means of Socialism. But now that the damnable war has disclosed the complete shabbiness, inhumanity and cynicism of the old system, now, its death sentence has been pronounced. We, Russians, a people without traditions and on that account bolder, more rebellious and less bound by the prejudices of the past, we have been the first to tread the path which leads to the destruction of the outworn conditions of capitalist society, and we are convinced that we have a claim on the help and sympathy of the proletariat of the entire world, and also of those who, even before the war, criticised sharply the present conditions of society.

If this criticism was honest, then all honorable men in Europe and America must recognize our right to shape our destiny in the manner we think necessary. If any of the intellectual workers take a true interest in the solving of the great social problem, they must protest against those who strive for the re-establishment of the old regime, who wish to destroy the Russian Revolution by the shedding of Russian blood, to subject Russia to their rule in order later to exploit it as they exploited Turkey and other countries, and as they are now preparing to exploit Germany. This is the true wish of the Imperialists. This is their sacred task.

The leader of the campaign against Russia is Woodrow Wilson. The torch of the Russian Revolution which throw its light over the entire world, is held firmly by the hand of Lenin. The proletariat and the intellectuals will choose which one represents their interests most nearly, the representative of the outworn, life-destroying minority rule, or the leader and teacher of new social ideals and emotions, who is the embodiment of the beautiful ideals of the workers — of freedom of labour among all peoples.

Existing under the menace of conquest by the robbers, they proclaim to the workers and to honorable men in all the world: Follow us to a new life, for the creation of which we are working without sparing ourselves or anything or anyone else. For this we are working, erring and suffering with the eager hopes of success, leaving to the just decision of history all our acts. Follow us in our struggle against the old order, in the work for a new form of life, for the freedom and beauty of life.

PROCLAMATION. ISSUED BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE FOREIGN DEPARTMENT OF THE FINNISH WORKERS' GOVERNMENT, STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN.

"Again we appeal to the workers in all countries. Comrades! Frightful is the fate of the Socialist workers in Finland. Four months have elapsed since the defeat of the revolution, but still the "White Terror" is raging in the country. It is obvious that the Finnish bourgeoisie intends to destroy all the organized Socialist workers, all the seventy or eighty thousand revolutionaries, who are now starving in detention camps in various parts of the country.

"From day to day continues the endless destruction of the organized workers. Hundreds die every day of hunger and disease. From day to day continue their executions, based on decisions of special field court-martials and instigated by the spirit of revenge and class hatred on the part of individual persons. In every detention camp the number of such murdered workers grows into hundreds upon hundreds. It is estimated in Finland that the "White Terror" has already killed almost as many people as lost their lives in the civil war—about 20,000 men, women and children. And this mad orgy of murder is not ended yet.

"More than 100 field court-martials pronounce their sentences upon the rebels. Death sentences, life imprisonment, long terms of imprisonment, the confiscation of the private property of individuals. . . ! They are not treated as prisoners of war, but as plain criminals who are accused of murder, pillage, etc., such verdict covering all the acts from the time of the Socialist Government and action taken in open warfare during the civil war. Arbitrary decisions of the courts and class hatred dictate the sentences.

"The White Guards themselves say that the life of a Socialist is not worth that of a dog, and without any penalty anyone may kill a Socialist at any time.

"Comrades, Workers, of all countries. Listen to the martyred outcry of the organized labour in Finland! Let your voice be heard. The "White Terror," which the Finnish Bourgeoisie does not want to stop, intends to destroy the proletariat of Finland to the last man and woman. We appeal to that international solidarity which has been proclaimed so long. Urge your Governments to take up the bloody question of Finland!

"Comrades in Russia, who yourselves have experienced the cruelties which follow in the path of the White Guards. Remember the fate of the revolutionary workers in Finland and be ready to fight to the last drop of blood against the attacking enemies of the revolution, and arouse the workers in other countries in our defence.

"Comrades in Scandinavia and in the Allied countries! Arouse a storm of protest against the executioners of the people of Finland. Spread the news about our fate to the people of the world.

"Comrades in Germany and Austria! If our words reach you at all, we want to say to you: 'Rise and put down your Government!' It was the German army which defeated the workers' rule in Finland and which is now facilitating the reign of 'White Terror.' Do not say to us: 'Am I my brother's keeper?'—for it is better to die than to be an international scab and an executioner of the workers.

"The crucified workers of Finland appeal to their working-class comrades in all countries. Prove to us in practice that the international working-class solidarity really exists. Listen, comrades and workers in all countries, to the martyred outcry from Finland."

SCANDINAVIAN LABOUR ORGANISATIONS PROTEST AGAINST THE "WHITE TERROR" IN FINLAND.

Scandinavian Labour organisations have issued a manifesto setting forth some of the brutal measures by which the Finnish Capitalist reactionaries are revenging themselves upon the Finnish working class for its endeavour to establish Socialism. Whilst the workers' Red Government abolished the death penalty, the White Guard perpetate mass executions both of armed and unarmed men and women, often without any investigation or even the form of a sentence. The manifesto states that official reports show "the military authorities have even issued orders to execute knowingly innocent people who are made to pay with their blood for the offences of those who have not yet been apprehended."

Red prisoners in large numbers are dying of hunger and disease in the various camps through insufficient nourishment. This is vouched for not only by the prisoners and their friends but by members of the propertied classes. A great employer of labour publicly admitted: "The prisoners are dying like flies and in Sveaborg their misery is indescribable." Many Socialist members of Parliament are kept in prison without investigation or trial. In Finland, for each Parliamentary seat a substitute member is also elected; the substitutes of the imprisoned Members and of those who are dead are prevented from taking their seats; the constitutional rights of the electors are thus infringed by the Capitalist Government. The "White Terror" has almost completely eliminated the Socialist Members from the Finnish Parliament.

THE OTHER SIDE.

A constant reader urges that if King George's cousin, the Kaiser, and other Germans are to be tried for war atrocities, then also should be tried the initiators of the blockade, which is still causing many thousands of deaths each day in the Central Empires and other parts of Europe, those who refused to allow medicines into countries ravaged by typhus and cholera, Reginald T. Jones, the British officer charged with the murder of the Baku Soviet commissaries, those who are responsible for forcing Russian prisoners of war to fight against their own countrymen and the Government of their choice. Our reader asks whether British Socialists are aware that prisoners captured by the Allies from the Russian Red Army were flogged by French coloured soldiers in Cologne for refusing to fight against their comrades in the Red Army.

THE TRUTH ABOUT RUSSIA.

(*Continued from page 1407.*)

begun by the Tzarist officers ,the Russian bourgeoisie, and, as we have seen, by the official representatives of the Allies in Russia.

The appalling position of Soviet Russia, bound by tha German tyrant at Brest-Litovsk on the one hand, and treacherously attacked by the Allied intervention on the other, roused the Russian workers and peasants to feats of heroism, which have only been equalled by the French people in their revolutionary war against the European Coalition headed by Austria. "Russian people, rise against foreign tyranny! We must dare, and dare again, and dare always," came from the lips of hundreds who had never heard the name of Danton. With the energy of despair the nucleus of the Red Army was mobilised, clad in cotton shirts and wooden shoes. Regiments of Petrograd workmen and Kronstadt sailors, who knew they were fighting for their all, marched eastwards, and hurled themselves upon the enemy, with the cries: "Long live the Russian Revolution! Workers of all countries unite!" The agents of the foreign tyrants wavered and fell back before the terrific onslaught of these revolution-inspired men. Kazan fell, then Simbirsk, Sizran and Samara. By the autumn "Mother Volga," that artery in which courses the life-blood of Russia, was cleared of the tyrants and their hirelings. But it was too late to bring up the food for the starving towns, as the ice had begun to set in.

After the German Revolution, the Allied Governments had the field in Russia all to themselves. Their strategy during the winter, 1918-19, aimed at cutting off industrial Russia from all its sources of food and raw materials in order to ruin by blockade the Russian Revolution. Money and ammunition were sent to revolutionary generals, who were mobilising Tzarist officers on the Don, in North Caucasus and in Siberia. General Krasnov, former editor of the official War Office Gazette under the Tzar, made no secret of his Monarchic leanings. Having pumped the Kaiser's Treasury till Kaiserdom fell, he now appealed to his other class-allies, the British and French Governments, from whom he received supplies of money and ammunition. General Denikin in the North Caucasus, and Admiral Koltchak in Siberia, more cleverly concealed their royalist principles by calling themselves "constitutional democrats" and by getting round them a number of intellectuals who called themselves "Socialists," but who are not known in Russia to anyone outside the counter-revolutionary camp. Such was the cynicism of these tactics that the Right Socialist Revolutionary Party of Russia, hitherto composed of bitter opponents of the Bolsheviks, decided at the beginning of 1919 to support the latter in their fight against the foreign invaders. The occupation of the Don by Krasnov had for months cut off all coal supplies from the Moscow and Petrograd industrial areas. The occupation of the Urals by Koltchak had cut off iron and copper. The occupation of the North Caucasus and the Caspian littoral by Denikin had cut off oil from the railways of Central Russia. But the Allied Governments are not troubled by the misery that this causes the Russian people. If the industries close and the railways cease running, and there is no heating in the houses of the Petrograd workers, so much the better for the "cause of justice," for then the British and French capitalist Press can the better accuse the Socialist system of Soviet Russia of being responsible for the misery which the Allied Governments alone have created.

To be continued.

IRELAND AND THE PEACE.

Irish Local Boards are refusing to take part in the peace celebrations on the ground that there is no peace in Ireland.

Carson has pledged himself to call out the Ulster Volunteers if independence or any form of Home Rule is granted in Ireland.

SOVIETS IN ITALY.

SOVIETS IN ITALY.

MILAN, July 8.—A telegram from Florence to the "Secolo" says that the Soviets have been proclaimed in the whole region of the valley from Bisanco to Vacano and in other neighbouring localities.

All carriages and automobiles have been requisitioned. To enter the zone a passport supplied by the Committee of Public Safety is necessary. On Monday villas and private houses were also requisitioned, and the Red Flag was hoisted on the villa belonging to Count Giueüardini and on the municipal buildings at Quizino-Vernio.

According to "Volksrecht," June 19th, the following is tne text of the appeal issued by the Russian Baltic Fleet to French and British sailors in the Gulf of Finland:—

(The opening lines were censored.) "... Why do you threaten Kronstadt and Petrograd? Why do you attack your b others? The object of your Government is that you annihilate the Russian people. You are being misled by the stories of the horrors of Petrograd and Bolshevism; but we, in agreement with the Russian Government, ask only that the French and British bourgeois leave our country in peace, We want Russian land to belong to the peasants of Russia, not to the landlords; and the mills and factories to belong to the workers, not to the capitalists. You would do well to observe what is happening in your own countries, where the Governments pretend to have given up intervention; yet they continue to interfere in the internal affairs of Russia. We offered an honourable peace. And now on behalf of friendship and solidarity we suggest that you end this war which can only help the capitalist robbers. The entry in Petrograd and Kronstadt of enemy soldiers can only be made over our dead bodies. Every ship's crew will fight to the last man. To defend the home and birthplace of the Revolution tens of thousands of workers, sailors and Red Guards have taken an oath—the sailors will keep their pledge. Down with the bourgeois! Long live the Revolution!"

TWO TELEGRAMS TO "AVANTI!" OF JULY 9TH.

BERNE, July 8.—We have received the following from Moscow:—Here is an example of the atrocities committed in the North of Russia by English troops and by troops under the English command. Nine members of the family of a soldier belonging to the Red Guard, named Kulakov, were arrested in the village of Koschomkoje, and held as hostages. Six of them were shot, amongst them an old man of 64 years of age.

A great number of peaceful citizens were shot by the English. Amongst them were two members of the executive committee of the Savow district, and also the secretary of the military Commissariat of the Schenkursk district. These are but a few examples taken at random from atrocities committed on a sufficiently large scale.

BERNE, July 8.—From Moscow we hear that the English have sent to Novorovski arms for 100,000 men, besides more than 350 cannon, of which 150 are of large calibre. They have sent to Vladivostock 150 tanks and a great quantity of aeroplanes, shells and cartridges. Canada has sent to Vladivostock arms sufficient for 400 000 men. It will thus be seen that England is straining every effort to help Denikin.

JAPAN AND KOLTCHAK.

"La Feuille," June 23rd:—"A Reuter telegram having said that Japan is negotiating with the Allies to provide military as well as financial assistance for Koltchak, it should be noted that there are two ways of looking at this project; the Japanese point of view and that of the Western nations. Japan will not go to Koltchak's assistance without gaining some advantage, and the general repugnance to spill Japanese blood for this affair must be overcome. The Japanese delegation in Paris has published a very vague and belated denial that Japan was the first of the Allies to recognise Koltchak and that she did it in return for concessions in Manchuria and Siberia. (Note that Mongolia is not mentioned.) The Japanese official denials are known ... even among the official denials! This is certain: Koltchak will get nothing from Japan for nothing!

"Have the Allies in Paris considered what situation they are creating in Asia? By the acquisition of Shantung, Japan dominates Pekin and the north of China. In consequence of the presumed arrangement with Koltchak, she will probably dominate Manchuria, Mongolia and perhaps Eastern Siberia. Some of the largest markets in the world would thus be given to Japan!"

AUSTRALIAN NEWS.

At a recent meeting of the Sydney Trades and Labour Council, two alleged French Labour delegates addressed the members. These delegates were evidently connected with the French Government, and their credentials were unsatisfactory. Comrades Garden and MacPherson moved and seconded the following resolution:—

"That this meeting of organised workers, having heard the French delegates, sends fraternal greetings to the workers of France and all other countries. Realising that the calumnies hurled at the Bolsheviki, like those hurled at the French workers when they were struggling for justice in the Revolution of 1792, and the Commune of 1871, emanate from the enemies of the working class, we hope that those who are now fighting for freedom will triumph over the foul monarchists and militarists and all those who support them."

The Frenchmen replied that they would take to their comrades the greetings sent them by the workers of New South Wales, but would have nothing whatever to do with Bolshevism.

INDIAN SELF-GOVERNMENT?

Proposals for the re-organisation of the India Office on account of the Montagu Chelmsford Bill have been made by a Committee presided over by Lord Crewe. The Government of India is being democratised, we are told, yet the powers the Secretary of State could only exercise in Council are now to be vested in himself—it is true this will make little or no practical difference. The assent of the British Sovereign to Indian legislation (or, let us be accurate, British legislation in India), shall be announced by his Majesty in Council, instead of through the Secretary of State in Council. The India Council in Whitehall is to be replaced by an Advisory Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for India. If the British Government of India and the sham Indian Legislative Council agree on matters connected with legislation, administration, or the Budget, the assent of the powers that be shall not be given unless the Secretary of State thinks it important to refuse it.

All this is mere tinkering; it will make no difference at all. The only concrete change is that members of the Council of India are to be paid £1,200 instead of £1,000 a year, with an unstated war bonus. Harry Gosling, of Lord Crewe's Committee, was too busy to attend.

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PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

July 14th.—Mr. Bonar Law, in reference to the Government making a statement about Ireland, asked: "Is my hon. friend sure that any declaration we make will allay the existing situation?" It seems as though the Government thinks that there is something in self-determination after all!

COAL OUTPUT.

Sir A. Geddes made a lengthy statement on the 6/- increase per ton in the selling price of coal. But not until Mr. Brace (Lab.) spoke was it possible for the House to see that there were two sides to the question. According to his figures: 157 collieries were unable to work because there was no trade on 670 days last year; 113 collieries were idle because there were no trams; 101 were idle because of a shortage of timber and rails; 111 were idle because of a shortage of horses and mechanical power; 91 reported decreased output because of the delay in repairs and 82 collieries reported a reduced output because of the delay in developing work at the collieries. Can anyone now say that the shorter working day has anything to do with reduced output? Mr. Bonar Law made an absurd statement on the wages question, arguing that "you cannot get better wages than the trade will supply." With this apparently he meant to convey that coal-mining cannot afford decent wages; but how about coal-mine owners being amongst the richest in the land! Something does not fit in with that argument. Let us try high wages and low profits, and then compare!

* * * *

July 15th.—From July, 1914, to July, 1919, there has been an increase of 109 per cent. in the cost of living.

CENSORSHIP ENDED.

July 16th.—The abolition of the Censorship has been decided on, and after July 23rd it is to be hoped that no further censorship through the post will be exercised.

FINANCE.

On July 15th and 16th the Committee stage of the Finance Bill was further debated.

CARSON AGAIN.

The speech which Sir Edward Carson (C.U.) made on July 12th in Belfast was discussed on the adjournment. Mr. Clynes (Lab.) showed that when a man like Carson makes a speech inciting to violence, the Government takes no action; but when a man of the working-class ventilates the wrongs of his class, he is arrested and imprisoned because the speech is regarded as "highly dangerous" and likely to cause disturbance! From this strange application of the law it appears that there is one law for the rich and another for the poor, and the same may be said of the majority and minority in Ireland. Irish people have long known this fact, and may rejoice now that at last the Labour Leaders in this country begin to appreciate the type of law they so rigorously uphold. It is of great interest, too, to learn that *because* Sir Edward Carson said "*if* there is any attempt made. . . ." no action can be taken, as such a threat is a "hypothetical, contingent threat"!!! Strange that W. F. Watson should have been given six months for having made a speech containing the phrase "Arm yourselves, *if* necessary"! One would like to know all these little refined differences in the application of the law. Sir E. Carson may threaten and incite without let or hindrance, but the less distinguished Britisher must do time when he or she makes "hypothetical" threats or remarks!

JUGO-SLAVS!

July 17th.—Much indignation was expressed in the House, because a former member of the Austro-Hungarian Embassy in London, has now arrived with a Serbian passport, as a Jugo-Slav. One must agree that it is most confusing, but who can expect the Jugo-Slavs to send a representative born in Jugo Slavia!—there *is* a limit!!!

COAL MINES BILL.

The Bill to give effect to the Sankey Report was given a Second Reading, and committed to a Standing Committee.

POLICE BILL.

July 18th.—Mr. Shortt introduced a Police Bill and rushed it through in one sitting. The Bill prohibits the legality of Trade Unions for members of the police force. In fact, it becomes pretty apparent that the police have to go through a form of militarisation, hitherto unknown in England.

M. O C.

SOUTH WALES NOTES.

RETALIATION.

Mr. C. B. Stanton, M.P., and a "Russian Gentleman" were billed to speak at several meetings last week, but were refused a hearing. Stanton has now the misfortune of having the weapon of his own forging turned against him. He persistently appealed for the "freedom of speech" he had quite as persistently refused others. Now that the people are freed from the glamour of war Stanton dare not face his constituents at an election, only at the risk of losing his seat. And he is well aware of it. The "Russian Gentleman," Mr. Luboff, who was used by Stanton to quiet his audience, was bawled down with the singing of the Red Flag. He appealed for a hearing on the grounds that he was a "Russian Revolutionary," but the audience knew him to be of the Kerensky type. The Labour Party Conference which hailed Kerensky as a hero was considered by Mr. Luboff as an indication of what reception he might have. Luboff's lack of knowledge of the English working-class is responsible for his mistake. The Labour Party is not a true reflection of the rank and file. Although the Labour Party Conference could not detect Kerensky as a Bourgeois apologist, the workers of South Wales did detect Mr. Luboff as a hireling of the capitalist class. Other meetings at which Mr. Luboff was to speak were cancelled, which has resulted in Mr. Stanton making a solemn oath that his life would be dedicated to the uprooting of Bolshevism in Great Britain. What a hope he's got.

"HANDS OFF RUSSIA."

These notes were written before July 21st, but the refusal of the S. W. M. F. Executive to declare Monday a general holiday to protest against intervention in Russia meant that it was left to each individual lodge to decide whether the pits were to be idle. As a result I expect some men will be working and others idle.

A large number of mass demonstrations, at which prominent speakers were present, were held. Even now the mass of the workers in South Wales are in agreement with the "Hands off Russia" campaign, and with effective organisation all the industries of South Wales could have been brought to a standstill on July 21st.

Last week was a week of much trouble; strikes occurring almost every day. A shortage of waggons, through disputes with the shippers, produced much idleness. Complications over the working of the 7 hour day, which becomes operative on Wednesday, July 16th, were also responsible for much loss of time. Matters are being aggravated by the employers, who are quite willing for the men to strike on very small questions, questions which during the war would have been settled without any loss of time. The object is quite clear. The employers are out to decrease the output to such an extent that at the expiration of a few weeks a startling pronouncement can be made in Parliament that as a result of the 7 hour day the output of coal has decreased enormously. This they hope will have the effect of (1) public support being taken away from the miners: (2) prejudicing the chances of the inauguration of the 6 hour day in 1921; (3) an argument against the nationalisation of the mines.

The lesson to be learned is this: that private property is now a fetter upon production and as a result is doomed to die a nasty death. If the output of coal is to be increased, then capitalism must be ended. Get on with the work.

M.F.G.B. REPLY TO GOVERNMENT.

The B.M.F.G. Conference of last week, among other things, decided to reject the Government offer to suspend the 6/- rise in the price of coal for three months, providing the miners guarantee not to strike and also help the Government to increase production. One of the arguments used at the conference was that to accept the Government's offer was also to accept the responsibility for the decrease of output. That may be true enough, but the greatest argument against acceptance would be its impracticability. The M.F.G.B. Conference, however powerful it may be in other matters, is not powerful enough to prevent strikes in the mining industry. On the day after the signing of the agreement a strike may occur in a dozen different parts of the country. Strikes are not forced upon men from the outside, but are the result of conditions obtaining within the pits. The conditions within the pits that make for disputes are generally unknown, and certainly not regulated by the men who attend M.F.G.B. Conferences. So that all guarantees made would be more than useless; they would be deceiving, because all should know they cannot be kept.

Unless the working class of this country is prepared to overthrow Capitalism and place in its stead the Socialist Commonwealth, the 6/- increase in the price of coal must remain, for even a strike to oppose the 6/- rise must be a nail in the coffin of Capitalism. The difficulties confronting the working class of this country have only *one* means of solution; that is the raising of the Socialist Commonwealth.

WORKERS OF DERBY!
You can get your DREADNOUGHT regularly from—
THE WORKERS' NEWSAGENCY,
Clarion Club, Wardwick, Derby.

A PEOPLE'S THEATRE.

A People's Theatre Society has been formed "to provide the machinery by which the energy, imagination and idealism of the masses may be employed to infuse a fresh and creative vigour into the whole community." The Secretary, Mr. Douglas Goldring, c/o Mr. C. W. Daniel, Graham House, Tudor-street, E.C.4, will be glad to receive plays, and to hear from actors, producers and others willing to co-operate. Whether this ambitious and praiseworthy effort can be successful under the capitalist system, which saps the energy and creative vigour of the masses, remains to be seen. The Abbey Theatre, Dublin, is quoted; but the Abbey Theatre is by no means a theatre of the masses. However, our good wishes are extended to the new Revolutionary Theatre Movement. May it realise its hopes.

SHOP NOTES.—LINCOLN.

Before the war mechanics in Lincoln were working for as little as 22/- a week, but the Workers' Committee Movement is creating a new spirit there, as everywhere. The new spirit was shown at Clayton and Shuttleworth's recently where an old hand who had been at the front was dismissed for slow output and refusing piece work. The workers, led by comrades who had newly come from Sheffield, refused to return to work until the man was reinstated. The management finally agreed to the ultimatum: no one was victimised.

Shop stewards at Clayton and Shuttleworth's, Ruston, Hornsby, and other firms are endeavouring to re-organise the Lincoln Workers' Committee. Workers in Lincoln, Gainsborough and Scunthorpe who are willing to help should write to H. R Goldstone, 15, Cheviot-street, Lincoln.

THE TREND OF THE TIMES.

The ex-Crown Prince of Germany, according to *The Times*, is ambitious to become a king of American finance. "I believe," he said, "their crowns sit firmer than ours." "Their power is also more complete," he might have added.

Sauteri Nuorteva, of the Russian Soviet Bureau in America, states in the New York *Nation* that the capitalists of Finland, after vanquishing the Workers' Red Army, executed over 15,000 men and women, shooting over 10,000 of them with machine guns in batches of from 50 to 500 without trial and after the civil war was over. "According to the official figures of the White Guards 80,000 prisoners were in the prison camps shortly after the civil war was over, and the head of the official medical commission of the White Guard Government, in a statement re-printed in Scandinavian countries, confesses that at least 10,000 died of starvation in the prison camps. About 50,000 people fled to Russia. The Government closed the labour halls, suppressed the Socialist papers and prevented the Socialists from carrying on an election campaign. General Mannerheim, after he had crushed the Finnish workers, was invited by the Kings of Norway, Sweden and Denmark to visit the capital of those countries. In Stockholm and Copenhagen he was stoned by the populace. His visit to Christiania was cancelled because the workers there threatened a general strike if the "mass murderer" should come.

BRITISH ARMY OF OCCUPATION AND GERMAN POLICE.

The *Manchester Guardian* publishes a photograph showing General Rogers, the British Provost Marshal for the Army of the Rhine, inspecting a parade of German police at Cologne.

Does this mean that the German police are controlled by the British Army of Occupation? As in Russia, so in Germany. Those who are fighting the German revolution have to contend against both home and foreign Capitalism.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF GEORGIA.

Having heard of Denikin's preparations for an offensive against Georgia, the Georgian Constituent Assembly, at a special sitting, made the following declaration:—

"After examination of the Government's report relating to the offensive of Denikin's army, the Constituent Assembly declares publicly that this attack is due to the Imperialistic greed of the representatives of the old Russia and to the desire of enslaving small peoples and stifling democracies.. The Assembly feels sure that our brave guard and army will worthily oppose the enemy and defend with all their might the integrity and honour of the Republic of Georgia. The Constituent Assembly urges the people, the whole democracy, to close up the ranks round the Government, and to strengthen the army, both by enrolling as soldiers and by material gifts and moral support.

"The Constituent Assembly is profoundly convinced that in face of the common danger the Transcaucasian Republics and their peoples will be impressed with the necessity of unity in the struggle against the common foe.

"The Constituent Assembly expresses its conviction that the European powers, and, above all, the working class, will raise their voices for the defence of our people. It protests before the Peace Conference at Paris and before all the European Parliaments against Denikin's offensive, the aim of which is to enslave small nationalities."

TIGHT BINDING.

THE COAL SITUATION.

Continued from page 1408

Capitalist Governments will never cease to attack Socialism wherever it may arise.

In Olonetz, successes for the Red Army are also reported, but determined attacks are said to be pending against Petrograd: this latter rumour comes via Helsingfors, and therefore we receive it with specially great reserve.

CARSON, THE PRIVILEGED LAW-BREAKER.

The Government spokesmen have informed the House of Commons that Sir Edward Carson did not break the law when he threatened to call out the Ulster Volunteers in case the suspended Home Rule Act should be put into force, or some other measure of Home Rule or Independence be established in Ireland. The excuse given by the Government virtually is that since the Government will not pass any measure to separate the Government of Ulster from that of England whilst Sir Edward Carson and his friends object, the contingency suggested by Carson will not arise. Therefore since his threats of violence and incitements to violence are contingent on what the Government will not do the threats and incitements do not matter. This is very convenient reasoning from the Unionist standpoint, and the worst of it is that the Labur Party has tamely swallowed the argument. Its official Press bulletin says. "The feeling was that Sir Edward Carson had actually achieved his object, while at the same time he had safeguarded himself legally. . . Apparently Carson is to be allowed to continue his dangerous policy and issue his threats, so long as he keeps within the letter of the law."

Surely it is obvious that Carson has broken the law, but as his friends and fellow Unionists who agree with his propaganda are in the Government, no action is to be taken. The Defence of the Realm Act Regulations are designed to rope in all doubtful cases when the Government desires to take proceedings. We remember a case at Eckington Petty Sessions in Derbyshire where the defendant was called up for having said: "When you have a police strike you are not far from a soldiers' strike." The charge was that the defendant "*did unlawfully attempt to cause mutiny, sedition, or disaffection amongst His Majesty's Forces, or amongst the civil population, contrary to regulation 42 of the Defence of the Realm Act.*" A conviction was recorded. But Sir Edward Carson's speech was delivered in Ireland where martial law is in operation in addition to the D.O.R.A., and where anyone can be punished for doing anything which the authorities dislike. If he had not friends in the Cabinet of course he would be in gaol!

THE LUTON PEACE RIOT.

The serious riot in Luton, which resulted in the destruction of the Town Hall, appears to have been a spontaneous outburst of indignation on the part of the people who objected to the callous treatment of the soldiers who fought and suffered in the war, and the refusal of the Corporation to allow the discharged soldiers the use of the park for a memorial service to the men who fell.

This spontaneous uprising of Luton people causes us to say: "Communists make ready, the time of great popular unrest is drawing nearer; redouble your educational propaganda in order that the workers, at last fired by divine discontent, may realise that in Communism and the control of industry by the workers lies their only hope, and that from capitalism all their troubles arise.

Communists make ready for the moment when the workers can and must take control!

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

THE PEACE CELEBRATIONS.

The celebration of the peace which is No Peace, impressed us painfully. For days we had seen the centre of London expensively beflagged and the cheaper decorations gradually being hung up in the East, but the first of rejoicings we saw were in Birmingham. Poor old women, in ragged garments, half-hidden by bunches of coloured paper, were dancing in the roadway: ill-clad boys and girls had tied red, white and blue handkerchiefs upon their heads. The poor had come out from the back streets into the centre of the city.

Reaching London at night we heard everywhere the noise of tuneless shouting: drunken men in the trains were annoying other passengers, and everywhere poverty was apparent. We realised that Britain, with all her victories, has been left behind in the march of civilisation by Russia and Hungary, where a Communist Society is being built up in which there shall be neither poverty nor ignorance.

In the East-end were bonfires in every street, and the people came out of their over-crowded homes to sit beside them; fireworks were constantly going off. Many houses were covered with coloured lights, ruddy Chinese lanterns hung in the doorways, but the dark poverty was not hidden. On the 'bus two boys were droning out sleepily the choruses of popular songs. The 'bus overtook a little crowd of revellers shouting another chorus: "The bands are playing for me and my girl." The boys on the 'bus joined in excitedly, banging the metal sides of the 'bus with sticks and making terrific noise. "It's better than Hyde Park; the poor people enjoy themselves more than they do up West," one of the lads cried with enthusiasm.

BOSTON GIRLS.

A hundred per cent. of the Boston telephone girls came out on strike. The *New Majority* reports that Postmaster Burleson threatened to put in soldiers to do their work. The girls replied with a procession in which every girl walked with a soldier and a soldier accompanying every girl on picket duty. Then Postmaster Burleson thought the exchanges would be raided; he packed them with police. It rained; the police ran out and gave their waterproofs to the girls on picket duty and provided them with lunch. In China town the Chinese restaurant keepers supplied the 300 pickets with free lunches during the five days of the strike. fifteen strike breakers were brought from other towns and housed in an hotel; the waiters refused to serve them, students were sent to man the exchanges; the girls on picket duty brought them to the strike meetings. Needless to say the strike was won:

* * * * *

Chicago policemen are demanding free speech and the right to form a trade union.

COVENTRY WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

L. Jackson, Propaganda Secretary, 65, Severn Road, reports "Hands off Russia" procession from Gosford Green and Grey Friars Green, and a demonstration on Pool Meadows. A trade union conference held on July 13th recommended branches to come to a decision on the question of down tools on July 21st. The Workers' Committee decided in any event to demonstrate on Pool Meadow at 3 p.m. on July 21st. Meetings are held each Sunday evening on Pool Meadow. There was rioting in Coventry during the Peace week-end.

AN ITALIAN REGIMENT DECIMATED.

During the popular uprisings in Turin an Italian Militia regiment was ordered to fire upon the people. The men refused, whereupon the regiment was removed to Finistrelle and decimated.

Is this Democracy?

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.
A Day in the Country. **OUTING** to
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Dancing in the evening.
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For Revolutionary International Socialism, the ending of Capitalism and Parliament, and substitution of a World Federation of Workers' Industrial Republics.

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LONDON MEETINGS—OUTDOOR.

SATURDAY, JULY 26th.

Great Push against conscription and Intervention in Russia and for a People's Peace in St. Pancras district. Meet at 2.45 p.m. at 44, Malden Rd (near Chalk Farm Tube Station.) Meetings at 3 p.m. at Queen's Crescent, and at 7 p.m. at Cobden Statue, (near Mornington Crescent.)
Speakers: Ph. Edmunds, Moscovitch. Clara Cole and others.

SUNDAY, JULY 27th.

Osborn St., Whitechapel—11.45 a.m. H. M. Straker and others.
Dock Gates, Poplar—7.30 p.m., H. M. Straker Chair: Ph. Edmunds.

SATURDAY, AUG. 2nd,
Great Push in Canning Town.

INDOOR.

FRIDAY, JULY 25th. and AUG. 1st.

400, Old Ford Rd—7.30 p.m. Dancing.

MONDAY, JULY 28th.

20, Railway Street—7.30 p.m. W.S.F. business meeting. 8.30 p.m. Reading Circle.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

TUESDAY, JULY 29th.

Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall—3 p.m. Mrs. Edmunds.

THURSDAY. JULY 31st.

400, Old Ford Rd.—7.30 p.m. Dancing.

RUSSIA AND SCIENCE.

M. Leliemand, in a paper read before the French Académie of Sciences on July 16th, spoke of the liberal and generous treatment of science and scientists by the Russian Soviet Government.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS.

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"FIFTY POINTS on Industrial Unionism. Post free 1½d. from Industrial Workers of the World No. 9 Local, 3, Gt. Garden St., Whitechapel, E.1.

THE MOTHERS' ARMS, 438, Old Ford Rd. Donations in cash or kind urgently required.

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